

Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (which it ratified on August 29, 1968), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (both of which it ratified on June 24, 1975);

Whereas the Government of Iran has routinely violated the human rights of its citizens, including—

(1) torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, including flogging, and amputations;

(2) high incidence and increase in the rate of executions carried out in the absence of internationally recognized safeguards, including public executions and executions of juvenile offenders;

(3) stoning as a method of execution and persons in prison who continue to face sentences of execution by stoning;

(4) arrests, violent repression, and sentencing of women exercising their right to peaceful assembly, a campaign of intimidation against women's rights defenders, and continuing discrimination against women and girls;

(5) increasing discrimination and other human rights violations against persons belonging to religious, ethnic, linguistic, or other minorities;

(6) ongoing, systematic, and serious restrictions of freedom of peaceful assembly and association and freedom of opinion and expression, including the continuing closures of media outlets, arrests of journalists, and the censorship of expression in online forums such as blogs and websites; and

(7) severe limitations and restrictions on freedom of religion and belief, including arbitrary arrest, indefinite detention, and lengthy jail sentences for those exercising their right to freedom of religion or belief, including a provision in the proposed draft penal code that sets out a mandatory death sentence for apostasy, the abandoning of one's faith;

Whereas, since March 9, 2007, Robert Levinson, a United States citizen, has been missing in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Government of Iran has provided little information on his whereabouts or assistance in ensuring his safe return to the United States;

Whereas Ja'far Kiani was publicly stoned to death in July 2007 in the Islamic Republic of Iran in contravention of an order from the Head of the Judiciary granting a temporary stay of execution;

Whereas, since May 2008, Reza Taghavi, a 71-year-old Iranian-American, has been imprisoned without a trial or formal charges;

Whereas, on October 15, 2008, authorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran jailed Esha Momeni, a graduate student at California State University, Northridge, for her peaceful activities in connection with the women's rights movement in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and refused to grant her permission to leave Iran for 10 months following her release from prison in November 2008;

Whereas Iranian-American journalist Roxana Saberi was jailed in January 2009 and sentenced in a closed-door, one-hour trial to eight years in prison for charges of espionage before her release in May 2009;

Whereas, on June 19, 2009, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights expressed concerns about the increasing number of illegal arrests not in conformity with the law and the illegal use of excessive force in responding to protests following the June 12, 2009, elections, resulting in at least dozens of deaths and hundreds of injuries;

Whereas the Government of Iran closed the Center for Defenders of Human Rights, headed by Nobel Peace prize winner Shirin Ebadi,

in December 2008, and the Association of Iranian Journalists in August 2009, the country's largest independent association for journalists;

Whereas, on August 1, 2009, authorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran began a mass trial of over 100 individuals in connection with election protests, most of whom were held incommunicado for weeks, in solitary confinement, with little or no access to their lawyers and families, many of whom showed signs of torture and drugging;

Whereas, in early October 2009, the judiciary of the Islamic Republic of Iran sentenced four individuals to death after the disputed presidential election, without providing the individuals adequate access to legal representation during their trials;

Whereas the Supreme Leader of Iran, Ali Khamenei, issued a statement on October 28, 2009, effectively criminalizing dissent regarding the national election in the Islamic Republic of Iran this past June, further restricting the right to freedom of expression;

Whereas the Government of Iran does not allow independent nongovernmental associations and labor unions to perform their role in peacefully defending the rights of all persons;

Whereas, on November 4, 2009, security forces in the Islamic Republic of Iran used brutal force to disperse thousands of protesters, resulting in a number of injuries and arrests, in violation of international standards regarding the proportionate use of force against peaceful demonstrations;

Whereas the Government of Iran expelled students from universities, particularly over the past two years, in reprisal for their being critical of the government;

Whereas the Government of Iran has imposed restrictions on the travel of individuals, including artists and filmmakers since the recent elections, in reprisal for their political views or their criticism of the government, such as those presently imposed on human rights lawyer Abdolfattah Soltani, human rights activist Emad Baghi, film director Jafar Panahi, and actress Fatemeh Motamed Arya; and

Whereas, according to Amnesty International, at least 346 people were known to have been executed in 2008, including eight juvenile offenders and two men who were executed by stoning; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) calls for authorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran to respect the rights of the people of Iran to freedom of speech, press, religion, association, and assembly;

(2) condemns the Government of Iran's human rights violations and calls on the Government of Iran to hold those responsible accountable for their actions;

(3) reminds the Government of Iran of its constitutional obligations under its 1979 Constitution and four international covenants to which it is a signatory;

(4) calls for the immediate release from detention of opposition figures, human rights defenders, journalists, and all others held for peacefully exercising their right to expression, assembly, and association;

(5) urges the Government of Iran to ensure that anyone placed on trial for committing acts of violence or other clearly criminal acts benefits from all of his or her rights to a fair trial, including proceedings that are open to the public, the right to be represented by independent counsel, and guarantees that no statements shall be admitted into evidence that were shown to have been obtained through torture, inhumane, or degrading treatment;

(6) calls for the Government of Iran to ensure those currently in detention are treated humanely, to provide detainees immediate prompt access to their families, lawyers, and

any medical treatment that may be needed, and calls for the Government of Iran to hold accountable those responsible for torture of detainees; and

(7) calls for authorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran, consistent with their obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to guarantee all persons the "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing, or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice".

ORDER FOR PRINTING OF AMENDMENT NO. 2786

Mr. KAUFMAN. I ask unanimous consent that amendment No. 2786 be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, and in consultation with the ranking member of the Senate Committee on Finance, pursuant to Public Law 103-296, appoints Jagadeesh Gokhale, of Maryland, vice Sylvester Schieber, of Michigan, as a member of the Social Security Advisory Board.

ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 2009

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 9:45 a.m. tomorrow, Friday, November 20; that following the prayer and pledge, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate resume debate on the motion to proceed to H.R. 3590, as provided for under the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, there will be no rollcall votes during tomorrow's session of the Senate. The next vote will occur at 8 p.m. on Saturday, November 21. That vote will be on the motion to invoke cloture on the motion to proceed to H.R. 3590.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KAUFMAN. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it adjourn under the previous order, following the remarks of Senators BROWBACK and HATCH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I thank my colleague.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I would like to take my time to talk about the critical issue of health care reform as this body stands at a historic crossroad on this national challenge.

We have never seen anything like the issues facing our country right now. The line between private businesses and public government has never been so blurred. Just look at this chart I have in the Chamber. Government effectively owns several of our Nation's institutions: insurance companies, financial institutions, banks and automobile manufacturers. CEOs have been fired by government bureaucrats, and Washington is now in the business of dictating salaries in the private sector. With government takeovers on the rise, drastic labor law changes being pushed forward, and sweeping new corporate taxes circling overhead, we are truly moving toward a European-style government at a time when most European countries are moving away from it.

I deliver these remarks with a heavy heart because what could have been a strong, bipartisan bill reflecting our collective and genuine desire for responsible health care reform on one-sixth of the American economy continues to be an extremely partisan exercise, pushing for more Federal spending, bigger government, and higher taxes as a flawed solution.

At the outset, let me make one point as clearly as possible. We are all for reform, everybody on this floor. Every Republican colleague whom I have talked to wants to reform our current health care system. Ensuring access to affordable and quality health care for every American is not a Republican nor is it a Democrat issue or idea; it is an American issue. Our Nation expects us to solve this challenge in an open, honest, and responsible manner.

Clearly, health care spending continues to grow too fast. This year will mark the largest ever 1-year jump in the health care share of our GDP—a full percentage point, to 17.6 percent. Growing health care costs translate directly into higher coverage costs.

Since the last decade, the cost of health coverage has increased by 120 percent—three times the growth of inflation and four times the growth of wages. Rising costs is the primary driver behind why we continue to see a rising number of uninsured in our country and why an increasing number of businesses find it hard to compete in a global market. Without addressing this central problem, we cannot have a real and sustainable health care reform bill.

Unfortunately, the Senate health bill, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, will actually increase Federal spending by \$160 billion in the next 10 years instead of lowering it. Mr. President, you heard me right: It will increase spending.

After the rushed stimulus bill, Americans are rightly concerned about what is being pushed through this Demo-

cratic Congress. The rush to pass something that will affect every American life and business has raised concerns all around our Nation. In a recent Gallup Poll, a majority of Americans believed their health care costs could actually get worse under the Democratic health care plans. So why are Americans so skeptical and concerned? Because they are being promised the impossible. They are being told that this trillion-dollar addition of taxpayer dollars to our health care system will actually preserve their current benefits, not raise their taxes, and it will reduce the Federal deficit. Even David Copperfield would be hard pressed to pull off this trick.

Many Americans recently had a firsthand encounter with the efficiency of the Federal Government in administering the H1N1 vaccination around the country. Their experience consisted of standing in long lines for several hours in sterile government buildings, only to be told they were suddenly out of doses.

Republicans in Congress agree with the majority of Americans who believe that just throwing more hard-earned taxpayer dollars at a problem will not deliver meaningful reform. Simply telling the American people that the solution for solving a \$2 trillion health care system is to simply spend another \$2.5 trillion just does not make sense.

With nearly a half trillion dollars in new taxes, this big stack of papers is a textbook example of the liberal tax-and-spend philosophy. Now compare that with the Constitution of the United States. This little booklet contains the whole Constitution of the United States. Yet we have a health care bill that is 2,024 pages long. Come on. That is an example of the liberal tax-and-spend philosophy we see around here.

Here are some of the highlights of this piece—this piece of equipment, this bill, this massive, massive bill; I can hardly lift the darn thing—\$28 billion in new taxes on employers through a mandate that will disproportionately affect low-income Americans, and all at a time when our unemployment rate stands at an unacceptable 10.2 percent; \$8 billion in new taxes on Americans who fail to buy a Washington-defined level of health care coverage; \$372 billion in new taxes on everything from insurance premiums, to prescription drugs, to hearing devices and wheelchairs—all of which are going to be passed on to the consumers, most all of whom are earning less than \$200,000 a year. As I said, there is no such thing as a free lunch, especially when Washington is inviting you over.

Representatives from both the Congressional Budget Office, CBO, and the Joint Committee on Taxation, JCT, have testified before the Finance Committee that these taxes will be passed on to the consumers. That is you and me. That is you and me and every other constituent in this country. So even though the bill tries to hide these

costs as indirect taxes, average Americans who purchase health plans, use prescription drugs, and buy medical devices—everything from hearing aids to crutches—will end up footing the bill.

By the way, we all know when this bill is fully implemented it will cost significantly more. Every time Washington tells you something will cost \$1, you can count on it costing \$10. History is prologue. Medicare started off with a \$65 million—that is with an “m”—a year budget and now it has a \$400 billion budget. So look for these taxes only to go up in the future, as we have just given the Federal Government a whole new checkbook, if we pass this bill.

Let me also talk a little bit about the myth of this health care reform proposal actually reducing the deficit. Here is the harsh reality: The Congressional Budget Office recently reported that our national deficit for fiscal year 2009 alone was a shocking \$1.4 trillion.

Let me put this in perspective. We have exploding deficits. In 2008, it was \$459 billion—the last year of the Bush administration. In the first year of the Obama administration, it is \$1.4 trillion. It is more than three times our deficit from last year and almost 10 percent of the entire economy. This is the largest yearly deficit since 1945. This should send shivers down the spine of every American out there. We are literally drowning this Nation and the future of this Nation in a sea of red ink.

The biggest bait-and-switch on the American people about the bill's impact on the deficit is a simple math trick. If something is expensive to do for a full 10-year period, just do it for 5 years and call it 10 years. Most of the major spending provisions of the bill do not go into effect until 2014 or even later—coincidentally, after the 2012 Presidential elections. So what we are seeing is not a full 10-year score but, rather, a 5- to 6-year score.

Now chart 3: This is the real cost of the Senate plan. The CBO score—because it only scores, really, basically 5 or 6 years because major provisions of the bill are not implemented until 2014, in some respects up to 2015—they claim, is only \$849 billion, or less than \$1 trillion. But the full 10-year score, according to the Senate Budget Committee, fully implemented, if you do it for 10 years, is \$2.5 trillion. The House bill is even at a more astonishing level of \$3 trillion.

Let me go to chart 4, because in our current fiscal environment, where the government will have to borrow nearly 43 cents of every \$1 it spends this year, let's think hard about what we are doing to our country and our future generations.

For months, I have been pushing for a fiscally responsible and step-by-step proposal that recognizes our current need for spending restraints while starting us on a path to sustainable health care reform. There are several areas of consensus that can form the